1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

both sides of the border, or they did until a recent boundary fence was erected. Their dialect shows many traces of Spanish, both in pronunciation and vocabulary. They are nominally Christians, and their government is of the style standardized by Spain for Mexican villages. They have abandoned most of the old ceremonies and customs and have been so harassed during the Mexican wars that their village, clan, and moiety affiliations have been largely broken up. As compensation, they shared earlier than the other groups in Spanish civilization. They were the first to use wheat, horses, and cattle, and they now include some incipient capitalists.

In a general study, it might be possible to include the Gila Pima, called by the Papago the "River People" as another division. We shall speak of them and the Papago together as Pimans, for the separation of the two groups, with their distinct names, is a recent development, due largely to reservation geography. However Pima ceremonies, today, are almost nonexistent. The Pima have been subject to white influence for almost one hundred years and, even when Russell visited them in 1901–2, he found only fragments of ritual practice. Nevertheless, such songs and speeches as he recorded, reveal striking likenesses to the material presented here.

True, there were some ceremonies which the Pima never had, such as the salt pilgrimage and the rituals for local shrines. Yet most others have left their traces. Sometimes a single song, roughly classed as "medicine" or "festal," has the very words of a Papago song that forms an integral part of some long ritual. Elements of a curing practice which Russell could not explain, appear to be fragments of the prayerstick festival that had been retained for curing, though abandoned as a public performance. These similarities have been noted in their suitable order. They give the impression that Pima ceremonial life strongly resembled that of the northern Papago. It may not have differed from that of the other divisions any more than they differed from each other.

Papago and Pima both are divided into moieties, known usually as Red Ants and White Ants among the Pima, Buzzard and Coyote among the Papago. These sometimes have minor functions in ceremony, such as painting the dancers but they do not conduct ceremonies nor possess rituals. The same is true of the four sibs or clans,

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

with paternal descent. Of these, maam and vaaf belong to the Buzzard moiety, aapap and apki to the Coyote. A recently added sib, called okori, seems to be a catchall to take care of people whose affiliation is lost and varies as to moiety. The sib of an informant was recorded where known, but it seemed to have little to do with ceremonial functioning.

The important unit in ceremonial life, as in economic life, was the village. Each dialect group comprised some four or five of these, each with its cluster of offshoots and its hill camps, for use in the dry season.[2] Isolated in their separate valleys, these "village units" did not necessarily co-operate even for war. Each had its own set of hereditary officers, its local fetish, and its version of the ceremonies. Each was suspicious of its neighbors, particularly those of another dialect division. When they met for intervillage games, they prefaced the contest with a ceremony of challenge, indicative of the hostility that was inwardly felt. Had each of these units been given a separate grant of land, as was done for the Pueblos, we can imagine that they might have developed differences comparable to those of Tiwa, Tewa, and Towa.

A thorough study of these regional differences might cast some light on population movements in Papago and Pima country during the restless millennium before the coming of the whites. Very different influences have been operative there, for some ceremonies reflect the needs of an organized, agricultural people, some those of hunters and individualists. However the ceremonies arose, Papago culture has turned them all to one purpose—rain. War, puberty, curing, even the gathering of salt, were not crowned with success unless they brought this one supreme boon to a desert people.

THE ORIGIN MYTH

As a preface to Papago religious beliefs, it may be well to outline the origin myth. This myth does not form a consistent basis for the ceremonies as do, for instance, the Navaho hero narratives. In some respects, indeed, the rituals draw close to it, and the songs and speeches are said to have been used when the need for super-

[2] *Ibid.*

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

And make a snout.
It was hail.
And I made eyes.
It was the wind.
Therewith did I stroke the image,
And from it water dripped.

It seems obvious that the next three lines should have preceded "It was the wind" above. They were written as dictated, but would seem to show that a ceremonialist's memory is not infallible.

It was a cloud.
I pressed it on the buttocks [as a tail].
Then I made hair,
And I let loose the deer.

There stood a mountain, black and stony.
Toward that it leaped;
Behind the gray hill it stood.
Behind the deer there stood a flowering tree,
And behind that the youths.
They felled the deer;
They wounded it.
They ran up, the old men, the youths, the children.
They rubbed themselves [with the tail]
And prayed for a good life.(39)

After the speech the hunters butchered the deer in the regulation fashion. When the tail was cut off, each man passed it over his body in blessing. Then it was stiffened with an arrow and given to an *dapap* man to carry home, while a *maam* man carried the meat. The bearer of the tail went to the ceremonial house circling it four times counter-clockwise. Then he entered and presented the tail to the shaman, who, perhaps, in early days made a mark on the ground as described in the first speech. All the villagers then came and passed it over their bodies saying: "Make me well. Let me have no pain."

The meat was cooked without salt by two old women, one from each moiety. Before it was put on the fire the shaman waved over it a branch of cholla, of a particularly thorny variety. The branch

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

mony the notched stick must not be scraped with another stick, but with the foreleg of the deer.

Dancers were two boys and two girls (representing the children once sacrificed at this village to prevent a flood). Their bodies were painted red, with white spots to represent corn. Some informants said the faces were half yellow and half white as the representatives of these children were painted at the prayer-stick festival. Boys carried an arrow over the right shoulder, girls an ear of corn in each hand.

The few songs obtained deal with the dance itself.

13. The feast, the feast!
It begins and goes forward.(27)

14. What man is it
Stooping here? [over dead deer]
Oh, it is hawk meeter man
Here stooping.(12)

What man is it
Who has killed the deer?
Oh, it is the wind man; the deer he has killed!
Yonder he struggles to carry it on his head.(27)

15. Do you see, yonder coming toward us
The tail of the black deer?(27)

Poor thing brought here;
Poor thing brought here;
Poor thing brought here;
Poor thing, walking yonder on the mountains
It nearly fell!(12)

At Pisinimo in the south the *maam* sib is very important, and various features of the ceremony hinge on the contrast of *maam* and *ʔapap* or, perhaps, since the other clans are never mentioned, of their respective moieties, Buzzard and Coyote.

Here no speeches were remembered for the announcement or for butchering the deer. It was killed with arrows in the usual way but a *maam* man must bring home the meat and an *ʔapap* the tail. Before the feast, the village elders brought the ceremonial basket from its hiding place in the desert and placed it to the east of the

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

dance ground, but not near enough to be seen or touched, that its power might not be injured. In a line between the basket and the council house they placed, first a tuft of eagle down, then the branch of cholla which had been waved over the deer meat, and finally an ironwood stake which was to be pounded into the ground, thus crushing down sickness and misfortune.(1)

Before the ceremony began, two shamans, one from each moiety, took stone axes and pounded the ironwood stake until it was invisible. Then they collected evil with the cholla branch and burned it.

There were two boy dancers and two girls from each moiety, chosen from all the country around for their long hair. They were painted in the council house by two men, one from each moiety. All had their bodies covered with dots to represent corn kernels, but the Buzzards had red bodies with white dots, since "the buzzards have red flesh and hearts," while the Coyotes had white bodies with red dots. On the crown of the head they had an eagle feather: a down feather for the girls, wing feather for boys.

The dance was held at night. After sunset the dancers emerged from the ceremonial house in single file, boys and girls alternating, with a *maam* boy leading. As they emerged, all the *maam* dancers turned to the south, the *ápap* to the north. They arranged themselves in one long line running north and south.

The singers started a song, and when it was nearly ended the *maam* dancer at the south started it again. When he had nearly finished, the *ápap* at the north took it up and finished. Then a new song was started, and the dancing began.

Each song was sung four times: twice while the dancers stepped sidewise, twice while they flexed their knees in position. Toward morning the songs changed, and the dancers began to circle counterclockwise. With the dawn song the dancers suddenly ran about a hundred feet to the east. There they danced during the singing of three songs, and after the last song they ran back into the council house.

Most of the songs are ancient ones, relating to the origin myth, the local version of which was once recited at the ceremony, but is now forgotten.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

KIN GROUPINGS

Moiety

616 The Papago are divided into patrilineal moieties, whose totems are Coyote and Buzzard. In consonance with California belief, Coyote is thought to have a white heart, while Buzzard's is red.[1] As subsidiary totems, the two moieties have white and red ants, actually a form of wingless wasp. The bear is sometimes mentioned as having a white heart and befriending the Coyote people, while mountain lion befriends the Buzzards.

582 616 But the moieties are actually remote from Papago life and many people do not know to which they belong. No moiety exogamy is now practised and only three informants had heard a tradition of such a thing. Most of them laughed at the idea; "We're all just the same. Those names don't matter." The marriage rule, in fact, is that of a bilateral system, which forbids marrying relatives on either side of the house. The kinship system is in accordance with [601] such a rule since it gives equal weight to the paternal and maternal lines and calls cross and parallel cousins by the same terms. It is a terminology which takes no cognizance of moiety.

616 Moiety functions only in ceremony.[2] It was with some difficulty that the traces of this were unearthed but, from the impressions of the oldest informants, it would seem that there were many more at one time than now. At the wiikita, the harvest festival held in the northern part of the region every four years, two girls and two boys scattered sacred cornmeal. They impersonated four children originally sacrificed to prevent a flood and there must be a boy and a girl from each moiety as there had been in that legendary case. At the final purification of an Enemy Slayer, old Slayers sang and

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[1] The Pima tradition makes the red people the descendants of the former inhabitants of the land (Russell, 179), while Papago narrators say that these inhabitants were driven south.

[2] Herzog, G, AA vol. 38, no. 3, pt. 1, p. 520, reports Pima moities as once taking sides in games. With the Papago, the game unit is now the village or the group of related villages, all of whom descend, theoretically, from the same patrilineal ancestor. If we conclude that women were married into these related villages, which thus came to be thought of as groups of cross cousins, we should have to disregard the Papago rule which forbids all marriage between relatives. With the Papago, the village has long been the functioning unit and even the selection of kin which constitutes it is coming to have less and less importance.

[p. 31]

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

616 [324] blew tobacco smoke over him. These smokers held in their mouths a different herb according to the moiety of the man to be purified: a sweet grass for the Coyote moiety and *yerba mansa* for the Buzzard. At the corn dance, which is now only a tradition, Coyote people painted their bodies with white splashes, Buzzard people with red.

Moiety influenced a man's choice of guardian spirit and his dreaming of songs. A Coyote man would be very likely to dream of Coyote, though other animals would be possible. He would never dream of Buzzard, who helps his own "partners".

The Coyote moiety is numerically in the majority as may be noticed in the list of informants. In fact it was difficult to find enough Buzzards to be sure their side of the story would be heard. In songs and chants the expression "our partner" is taken to refer to Coyote without further description, while Buzzard rarely appears.

[522] However, every one is still aware of his moiety (with the exception of one clan to be mentioned below). People use the knowledge principally to taunt one another in joke. This may be done privately but is also much in use at festivals, where it seems to be semi-ceremonial.

"Two women, a Buzzard and a Coyote, came to a pond where a coyote had been drinking. 'Oh, how bad it smells!' said the Buzzard woman. 'That is your partner.' 'Your's smells worse,' said the Coyote woman." (22)

"The Buzzard people, seeing a buzzard in the air, will say: 'Our partner is always dancing.' Coyotes reply: 'He has to stay up there. He smells bad.'" (22)

"'Your partner steals,' say the Buzzards. 'Well, yours eats dead things' the Coyotes reply." (22)

[224] A Coyote man would never kill a coyote. If the animal pilfered from his garden, he would simply submit. "We can't chase away our partner." In killing a deer he would leave the entrails and perhaps a piece of meat hanging on a tree, saying: "Here, partner. This is your share." A village called "Coyote Lives There" once contained a tame coyote, which informants think must have been kept by a member of the Coyote moiety. "It would not stay for a Buzzard." There are fewer stories about the treatment of Buzzard, whose cult seems to have lapsed.

Sibs

614 Five patrilineal sibs are known, with a legendary sixth and seventh. They are:

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

THE PAPAGO FAMILY

Today there is no wider kin group among the Papago than the extended family. One type of kinship terminology which is dying out on the Reservation has been correlated by Underhill with a former sib structure.[11] The several different terms for "father" in this terminology seem to have indicated patrilineal lines. The significance of these terms today is difficult to determine, for they are being replaced rapidly by the generalized term for "father" (*auk*) or, in many families, by "daddy." It is safe to say that no well-developed clan concept survives and that the present concept of the family and the extended family has not changed radically within the past generation.

The old people say that, when I'itoi created men, he called the first one a Coyote, the next a Buzzard, the third a Coyote, and so on until all mankind (i.e., all the Papago) was divided into two groups. The younger people today hardly know to which group they belong, and some say that they belong to both; even for the elders the terms seem to have little significance except on ceremonial occasions, when they form the basis of standardized joking.

The Papago have no other formalized humor as do many Indian tribes, but jokes and teasing are the salt of daily life. Low and spontaneous laughter rises whenever the Desert People are gathered together, or the occasion is indeed a serious one.

MAKING A LIVING TOGETHER

In Papago society the household is the fundamental economic unit, and each member does his share of the work necessary to make a living in this difficult environment. Men are responsible for tilling the fields and caring for the livestock; women manage the domestic essentials; children help with the household or farm chores according to their strength and ability. The division of labor is thus fairly definite, but all work together when necessary. Women and children help bring in the crops and gather wild plants and fruits. Boys of ten or eleven often plow.

Both men and women make articles for sale or barter. Most women know how to weave baskets; a few make pottery or occasionally sew for others. The men tan leather and braid ropes of rawhide or horsehair. Money earned by handicrafts is thought of as belonging to the artisan rather than to the group, but in a society where incomes are low, a considerable proportion of such earnings must be used for family needs.

Since the introduction of wage work, some members of the family, particularly the young adults, are beginning to feel less obligation to contribute to the household. Most of them, however, continue to help, either bringing home provisions or sending money. Wage-earners who do not assist the family are

11. *Op. cit.*, pp. 32–33.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

285 material of which they are made was formerly a certain grass, which may still be used, though generally wheat straw takes its place. Strips of mezquite bark are employed in the binding. The granary basket has a flat cover, made in the same way, which is sealed with mud. Sometimes it is plastered throughout with mud as a protection against rats.

285 The pleasing designs seen in the old baskets are rapidly disappearing on account of the deplorable lack of æsthetic sense among those who are eager to buy Papago baskets. The makers are actually encouraged to insert crude representations of men and beasts in preference to the former beautiful conventionalized designs which the innate artistic sense of the Indian had evolved. The trader also teaches the Papago to make the baskets quickly and cheaply, in order that more money can be made in the market from ignorant buyers. A society for the preservation of aboriginal American art is of urgent need and should be attempted even at this late day.

173 It is difficult to ascertain anything about the origin or early history of the tribe, beyond the traditions that the people when returning from across the sea left ceremonial sticks at Caborca, Quitovaquita, and Santa Rosa.

[611] The tribe is divided into five groups, descent being in
● 616 the male line. Their names have lost all meaning; two
822 of the groups (*mam* and *vav*) are known as red-velvet ants (*vŏki ŏbimal*) and three (*ókul*, *ápap*, and *ápki*) as white-velvet ants (*'tóa ŏbimal*).* Any animal that has red about

*The so-called velvet ants are females of certain wasps (of the family *mutillidae*).

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

822 it belongs to the red people. Members of salt expeditions
●616 formerly painted on their faces the color of the division
822 to which they belonged. The red people were, according
1773 to mythical tradition, the original owners of the country, but Elder Brother, *Sîhu*, having been ill-treated by them, brought the white people from the underworld and after many big fights the red ones were almost exterminated, and even to this day they are fewer than the white groups. Much in the minority are those families whose children address their father as *mámekam* or *vávekam*. The rarest of the groups is *vav*, and the most common, *ápki*. The mounds are attributed to the red people.

631 The rancherias appear to have a division of their own, that part of the Papagueria which is comprised within Arizona being divided into four provinces. Probably the present District of Altar is included in one of them. These subdivisions are:

I. *Ánekam* (name derived from a leguminous tree, *an*) consists of the rancherias Ánekam, Kukómalik, and Tjúupo; in other words, the upper part of Santa Rosa valley as far north as the Kohatk people, who are Pimas.

II. *Hobóla* (meaning of the word unknown) is the north-western part of the Papagueria. These people extend west of the Quijotoa range as far as Gila Bend, including Aktjin rancheria, four or five miles south of the modern Maricopa railroad station. Their original starting point is said to have been Cacate rancheria and includes such rancherias as Pozos Muchos, Sauceda, Pozo Blanco, and Barajita.

he belonged, but was not forbidden to marry within it. In the same way the whole country was divided into ceremonial halves or moieties known as Buzzard and Coyote. This custom is similar to that of the Mission Indians, distant language relatives of the Papagos. But whereas the moieties of the Mission Indians forbade marriage of one moiety member with another and have given to the moiety many ceremonial duties, the Papagos know Buzzard and Coyote as names only and there are no rules or ceremonies connected with them.

Many of the old Papago ceremonies dealing with birth and death are no longer practiced but there are enough old people living so that we can at least have an account of them. A mother, about to give birth to a child, went to a separate hut kept for "dangerous women." Not only women in childbirth but women in their periods came under this heading, for the strange power of reproduction seemed to the Papagos fraught with magic and death. The new mother remained in this segregation hut for a month before she and her baby might emerge. Then the medicine man gave them both a mixture of clay to drink while he pronounced a purification formula.

Young children were continually urged to be industrious for this was the supreme Papago virtue. Boys were expected to have a dream which would tell them what career to choose and give them power to follow it. Girls usually did not dream but when they reached maturity a special ceremony was held for them. The girls were kept apart from others for four days, then bathed and brought out to dance with the whole village. Sometimes this dance continued every night for a month, and at the end of that time the strange new power which had visited the girl was thought to be tamed. Her parents soon visited the parents of an industrious youth and arranged that the two should be mated. There was no marriage ceremony other than the coming of the boy to the girl's house and taking her home with him after four days. They lived with the